The Ideal City: A Comparative Approach

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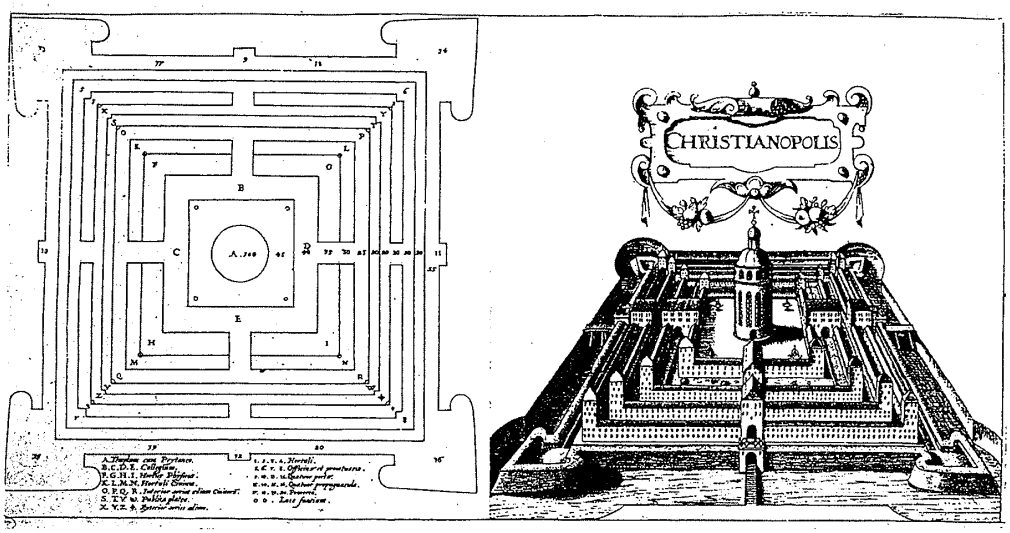
1. Freudenstadt, the "City of Joy"

In 1599 Duke Friedrich I of Württemberg (1557-1608) decided to build a planned, ideal city for Protestant refugees from France who had sought his protection. He named it Freudenstadt, City of Joy. The design of the city consisted of a square with four thoroughfares converging in the shape of a cross. In the centre stood the palace, surrounded by streets of concentric squares, like boxes of decreasing size stacked within each other. The plan was not unusual. The lay-out was largely identical to that of the ideal city Christianopolis described in Johann Valentin Andrea's *Republicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio* of 1619.[1] (See illustration 1.) The one major difference was that in the case of Freudenstadt the Duke insisted that a palace and not a church occupy the centre, an indication of even more thorough changes to come.

At the same time the Tokugawa were laying out their administrative capital at Edo, present-day Tokyo. This paper will discuss some of the similarities and differences in lay-out of the ideal planned city in Japan and the West.



1. Christianopolis, copper plate print from Valentin Andrea, *Republicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio*, Strassburg, 1619.

2. Early Ideals

Mircea Eliade traces the idea of the religious valorisation of the central space of human habitation back to the Neolithic, to the beginning of man's sedentary existence. The central space of the settlement is endowed with cosmological significance; it becomes the centre of the universe where the gods descend to earth and communication between men and the gods is possible. Human habitation is organised around the centre, and as such it is considered an *imago mundi*, a concept for which Eliade finds examples at all levels of culture.[2] He locates the richest development of cosmological symbolism in architecture, however, in the Near East, with the city of Babylon being one of the earliest well-documented examples. As Bab-il-ani it was literally the "Gate of the Gods."[3]

3. The Judaic-Christian Ideal

The idea of the city as the "temple of god" is a concept basic to the tradition of Judaism, and finds frequent expression in the Old Testament. God tells his people that his seat will be in the city of Jerusalem (Zechariah 8:3). The Psalms speak of the "city of our God" which he makes "secure forever" (Psalms 48:1, 8), while the author of Revelation declares that God showed him "the Holy City, the new Jerusalem" and assures his readers that "The throne of God and of the Lamb will be in the city." (Revelation 21:2, 23).

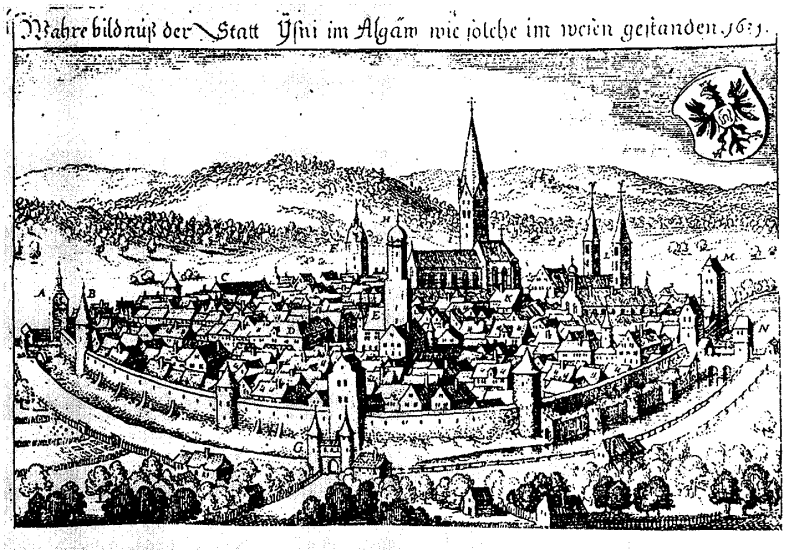
Christianity became, like Judaism, a city-based religion and inherited the concept of the city as the seat of God. Max Weber has pointed out that, while in the early Jewish tradition the terms for "country-dweller" and "impious" were synonymous, for those who earned their living outside the city were unable to observe the strict rules of Judaism, in Christianity, the term "pagan" is similarly based on Latin *paganus*, meaning "rustic."[4]

As Christianity spread West, the Judaic concept of the Holy City found support within the tradition of the Greek *polis* and the Roman *civitas*, in the centre of which government and the gods resided. When Rome turned Christian, it claimed for itself the attributes of the Heavenly Jerusalem, as *caput mundi*, the centre of the earth.[5] The blood of the martyrs had consecrated its soil, it had become *Roma nobilis, orbis et domina, cunctarum urbium excellentissima* (noble

Rome, lord of the world, the most excellent of all cities) in the eyes of Christian believers.[6] The Rock of St. Peter came to symbolise the cosmological centre, on which the foundations of a world-wide church are resting. And even the fall of Rome could not destroy this image of the city as the seat of God and centre of religious activity. On the contrary. Attempting to come to terms with the destruction of the sacred city, St. Augustine wrote his *City of God* (413-426), a work spelling out in detail the ideal of *the civitas dei.*

Augustine's *City of God* became an essential reference work as Christianity spread and bishops came to represent the pope in newly christianised areas distant from Rome. For according to church law, the seats of bishops were not to be located in villages and insignificant towns, as pope Zachary pointed out to St. Boniface in 742 when the latter reported progress in the creation of new bishopries North of the Alps. The seat of the bishop must be a city, a *civitas* in the Roman sense. Yet unlike the typical Roman *civitas*, generally secure as part of a larger empire, the cities of the bishops North of the Alps frequently had to defend themselves against enemy attack, prompting monks to translate Latin *civitas* as German *burg* or *purg*, meaning "fortification."[7] The prophets had described Jerusalem as a city fortified with strong walls and gates, and the ideal of the *civitas dei* of the North came to be one where not only the church at the

2. The city of Cologne from Koelhoffschen Chronik, 1499. Artist unknown. The Three Kings and St. Ursula with her saints are on the city walls to protect them against the enemy below.



3. The city of Isny, with the church towering in the centre and its protective walls. Copper plate print, Matthäus Merian, *Topographia Sueviae*, Frankfurt/Main, 1643.

centre, but also the walls and gates were an important part of the sacred plan.[8] Thus a fifteenth-century illustration of Cologne shows the Three Kings and St. Ursula with her saints on the city walls, protecting the settlement from the enemy below. The large cathedral looms in the background. The accompanying text refers to Cologne as the "holy city."(Illustration 2). Neither the growing importance of the city as commercial centre, nor the spread of Protestantism denying the importance of Rome and the pope could fundamentally change this image. Even in Protestant imagery, the city remains a place privileged and protected by God, with the church as its real and symbolic centre.[9]

In the Christianised West, the ideal city was a place where the dwellings of the believers surrounded the House of God, with walls and towers protecting those within the sacred space. Like the unborn child protected in the womb, man could live safely in the holy "Mother-city", an image the psychologist C.G. Jung considered part of the archetypal content of the Western psyche. According to Jung it is a remnant "of historical mental conditions," which can be traced back to Gnostic and other early philosophical writings.[10]

4. The Ideal of the City in India, Southeast Asia and China.

The city as the seat of god not only achieved prominence in Western culture. It was deeply rooted in Hindu, and, later, Buddhist thought. The city was the cosmological centre, not just in terms of space, but also in terms of time. In its centre goods were ceremoniously buried below the ground symbolising the

period before creation, before man as *purusha* or *âtman* came into the light of day.[11] The city as centre of the world was also visualised as the holy mountain on which the gods resided, a concept apparent already in early Vedic writings and later adopted by Buddhism.[12] Even before Augustine defined the *civitas dei*, the *Artha'sâstra* of Kautilya, the famous minister of Candragupta Maurya, laid down detailed instructions for the design of the ideal city.[13] The rulers of the Indianized states of Southeast Asia inherited these concepts and rules for the design of their cities, with the most prominent example being Angkor Thom. In the centre of the city stood the "golden mountain" embodying Mount Meru, the centre of the universe. Here the king resided and communed with the gods.[14] Thailand's Ayutthaya and Bangkok (Thai: Krung Thêp=city of gods) and Burma's various ancient capitals offer similar examples.[15]

The concept of the ruler's city as the centre of the universe and the country's most sacred site, where the gods descend, is also deeply rooted in Chinese culture. The lay-out of Beijing offers a perfect, if late, example with the imperial palace in the centre, where the ruler as Son of Heaven(天子)worshipped at the elaborate Altar of Heaven(天壇).[16] The design of the ideal city had already been spelt out in the *Zhôu li*(周礼), which if not written in the Zhôu dynasty, as the name claims, is at least believed to date from the end of the Former Han. The earlier capitals of Loyang and Chang-an, however, showed a variation of this lay-out, with the imperial palace situated in the northern part of the city. Some scholars contend that various local topographical reasons had made alterations to the perfect layout necessary.[17] Even though the imperial palace with the country's most sacred site, the Altar of Heaven, did not occupy the centre of the city, it still occupied a dominant and cosmologically important position.[18]

5. Japan's Early Capitals and the Seat of the Gods

Japan modelled its capital cities, starting with the Fujiwara capital and ending with the Heian capital, present-day Kyoto, after Loyang and Chang-an, and thus inherited the ground plan with the imperial palace in the northern section of the city. Scholars readily point out that the Japanese capitals were considerably smaller in scale than their Chinese models, and that a prominent feature, the surrounding wall, was missing in Japan.[19] There was, however,

another major change which, though less obvious, is of greater importance to this discussion. Namely, the country's most sacred site, the shrine of Amaterasu, the sun goddess, was not located within the palace. Unlike in China, where the Altar of Heaven as the country's most sacred site was central to the palace and the city, in Japan the most important religious site where the emperor worshipped his ancestral deity as highest god of the pantheon, was at the sanctuary of Ise, surrounded by forests, far removed from the bustle of city life.

This, however, had not always been so. We read in *Nihon shoki* 日本書記 that during the reign of Emperor Sûjin 崇神 (BC 97?-30), Amaterasu together with the god Yamato no Ôkuni Tama 倭大国魂 (lit.: the soul of the large country of Yamato) were located and worshipped in the main hall of the palace. Emperor Sûjin, however, dreaded "the power of these Gods, and did not feel secure in their dwelling together", and had them moved to other locations.[20] Scholars have interpreted this episode as pointing to the beginning of the sanctum of Ise, although opinions on why the shrines came into being vary widely.[21]

The original situation in Sûjin's reign, where the emperor worships within the imperial palace Amaterasu as god of heaven and Yamato no Ôkuni Tama as god of the land follows the Chinese model. Chinese influence can also be seen when later in the episode the emperor consults the oracle by observing the cracks in a tortoise shell, rather than following the ancient Japanese practice of observing those caused when roasting a deer's shoulder blade.[22] However, at the time pestilence and political unrest were plaguing the country, indicating that the gods were angry. It is at this point that Emperor Sûjin decides to remove the gods from the imperial palace.

Bearing in mind the many religious taboos to be observed in the worship of the Shinto gods, it is evident why living with the highest of them at close quarters would have instilled fear in the emperor. Birth, death, menstruation and any other appearance of blood being considered defilement,[23] a normal life with women bearing children could not but have incurred the gods' wrath. If the traditional taboos of Shinto were to be observed—rather than Chinese practices be adopted—then there was no other choice but to house the highest gods away from human habitation, as is the case at Ise.

It appears that the episode related in *Nihon shoki* points to an early clash

between native Japanese and continental Chinese culture before the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century. Concessions to the Chinese model continued to be made in the worship of the Shinto gods. A replica of Amaterasu's sacred mirror as well as lesser Shinto gods came to be housed within the imperial palace, and on occasions, such as the celebration of the *daijôsai* 大嘗祭, the enthronement ceremony, Amaterasu descends to the palace.[24] This acculturation is not surprising in view of the large-scale import of Chinese culture in matters of government and religion in the sixth century. What is surprising, is that even with such strong commitment to the adoption of foreign culture and religion, as shown, for instance, by the grandiose project of Tôdaiji, where Amaterasu came to be identified with the Buddhist Vairocana (Dainichi), the fundamental principles underlying her worship were not subject to change. As Jung might have put it, the "archetypal content" of the Japanese psyche, as a remnant "of historical mental conditions," could not simply ignore the traditional demands of ritual purity in her worship. And according to these, as Emperor Sûjin had discovered, she could not be located at a site close to human habitation.

Discussing the design and construction of the Heian capital, Nicolas Fiévé points out that the site was chosen and consecrated so as to be "in harmony with cosmogonic space." As "an area protected by celestial divinities" and the "emperor's abode," the capital was considered sacred. But, he notes, "despite the existence of an important output of cosmographies like the *mandara* of esoteric Buddhism and the images of Pure Land paradise, *Jôdo mandara zu*, no attempts were made in the Heian period to portray in composite views the microcosms represented by *Heiankyô*, the imperial palace, or the residence of court nobles."[25] The reason no doubt was that what should have featured as the spiritual centre of the *mandara*, the most sacred site, namely the shrine of the emperor's ancestors, was elsewhere. As Emperor Sûjin had experienced, the country's highest gods could not be housed within the confines of the imperial palace and the city, unlike in India and China.

6. The Shape of Settlements

Upholding traditional rules in the worship of the Shinto gods had significant consequences for the development of Japanese settlements. With the

focus of religious attention being outside the settlement there was no centre around which to settle.

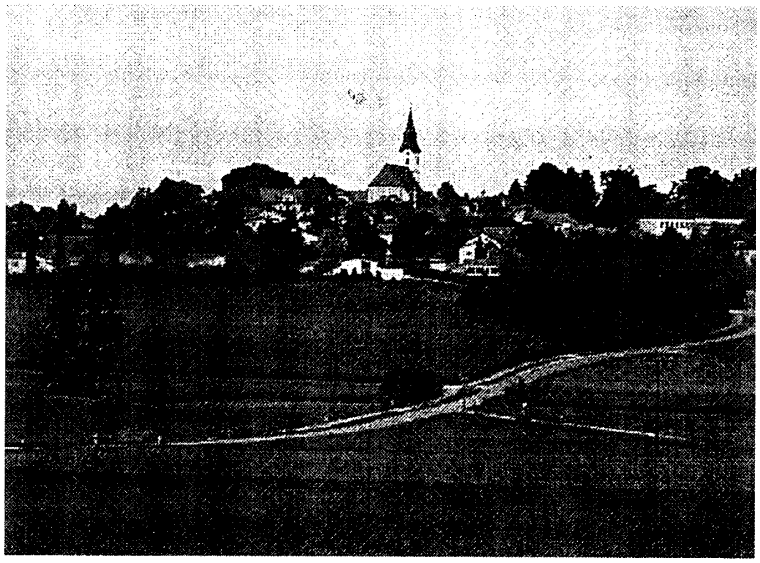
Buddhism does not make the same strict demands on ritual purity as Shinto. But since it was much influenced by, at times merged with, and never eclipsed Shinto in Japan, and, in addition, was broken up into a great number of sects, with often members of the same household worshipping at different temples, Buddhist temples seldom stood at the centre of settlements.[26] One of the rare exceptions was when a settlement served as headquarters for a religious fraternity, as was the case with Kanazawa when it was the seat of the Honganji sect. At that time the town had the classic pattern found in Buddhist countries: it consisted of "a set of concentric circles" with the main temples and administrative offices at the centre.[27]

It is interesting to note that not even the Japanese medieval castle town showed patterns of centric settlement. While scholars admit that little is known about these townships, examples that have been excavated show a linear and not circular arrangement. Temples are situated in the *tera machi* (寺町 lit.: temple town), away from habitation, adjacent and not central to the settlement. The houses of the retainers do not encircle the seat of the lord, and, moreover, fortifications are built around the mansions of the lord and his retainers individually, and not around the whole township.[28]

By the Tokugawa period the pattern of elongated settlements with temples and shrines dotted around the periphery is well documented by the various detailed road maps (*bunken nobe ezu* 分間延絵図) produced by the bakufu.[29] With the more popular places of worship, shops and inns catering for visitors lined the approach of the temple or shrine. The reason why these *monzen machi* (lit.: before-the-gate-town) came into existence was that the place of worship stood outside the town, and that the normal facilities a town would offer to travellers were too distant to be used conveniently. Typically *monzen machi* lined the approach to the main gate of the religious site, and did not encircle the temple or shrine.

In contrast in Christianised Europe, settlements grew around the church. In England, for instance, most towns had only a single mother church prior to the tenth century.[30] Frequently built of stone when much of domestic architecture had to content itself with wattle and daub, the church offered not just spiritual solace, but also physical refuge in case of fire, war or other natural or

man-made disasters.[31] The church cemetery might double as pasture, and part of the church occasionally even as a stable. Thus, for instance, worshippers in the stately cathedral in Heidelberg felt the need to complain that the noise of the pigs, which the vicar kept in the sacristy, disturbed their devotion[32], a situation that is unlikely to have occurred in Japan. In larger European settlements, additional churches were often sited according to the points of the cross, to afford greater protection.[33] Even when seigniorial mansions or buildings of state came to claim the central location, the church, or churches, remained at the centre of social activity, near the core of the settlement.



4. The massive building of the church stands at the centre of the settlement, and even today dominates the landscape. Bavaria, Germany.

7. Watsuji's Theory

The philosopher Watsuji Tetsurô 和辻哲郎 (1889-1960) saw the city, as shaped by the tradition of the Greek *polis*, as one of the defining marks of Western culture.[34] Watsuji argued that the difference between Europe and Japan was that in the former the organisation of and loyalty to the *polis* took precedent, while in Japan it was the family or house (*ie* 家) that commanded this position.[35]

In the opening pages of his book, Watsuji explains that *Fudô* 風土, (lit.: Wind and Soil), the title of his work, encompasses "the natural environment of a given land, its climate, its weather, the geological and productive nature of the soil, its topographic and scenic features."[36] He considers climatic features, stating that "relationships between people as family members differ openly

between meadow, desert and monsoon climates," and classifies the *polis*-building Greeks as people of the meadow, while the family-centred Japanese belong to the monsoon climate. Yet he does not follow through this argument and ignores topographic features, attributing the creation of the *polis* to the commercial and "piratical adventures of the Greek" who "took as wives the women of the lands they had conquered" and thus "dissipated" the power of the lineage in the tribe.[37]

Surely, Japan's fragmented topography with its narrow mountain valleys and literally thousands of islands, is one reason for the division of society into the small unit of the family or clan. For instance, when the German scholar Engelbert Kaempfer travelled through Japan in the late seventeenth century, he noted that small mountain valleys were often settled by one large clan, differing in dress and customs, but also often physically, from people living outside the valley.[38] It appears that little intermarriage with people outside the valley had taken place.

The division of society into such a small unit as the family or clan was possible in Japan, because geographical conditions generally precluded military attack requiring larger social units for defence. The Greek *polis* frequently had to withstand the attack of enemy fleets, moving swiftly over easily navigated seas. Further north, in continental Europe, culturally and ethnically alien cavalry hordes would sweep over large stretches of country to murder and plunder. In both cases fortifications had to be substantial, requiring the manpower and co-operation of large social units. This was not the case in Japan, where the treacherousness of the surrounding seas prevented foreign invasion until the twentieth century. Even within the country, military challenge frequently came not from outside, but from within the local community. Thus in the fifteenth century, at a time when Japan was divided into many small military and political units competing for authority, defences were built around the individual mansions of the military aristocracy, and not around the whole local community. As the expression *gekokujô* 下克上, used to typify this period, well expresses, the lower, i.e. the vassal, subdued the higher, the lord. The latter was thus well advised not to include the mansion of a vassal in his own fortified compound. Watsuji himself points out that in Japan the city walls of Europe were not necessary: fortifications were not built to separate towns from their environment.[39]

In the Tokugawa period, when the country was united, this pattern was even more prominent. Western visitors were amazed that such important cities like Kyoto or Edo had no defensive walls. But unlike the capitals of contemporary European autocrats, where within the city defences broad avenues led to the ruler's palace, at Edo the ruler was separated from the ruled by fortifications. Even the main building, the *honmaru* 本丸 of the castle with the living quarters of the shogun, was shielded by its own ramparts against the well-fortified area where his senior vassals lived. There were no avenues giving direct access to the seat of the ruler. The city's main street Chûô dôri 中央通り was laid out to by-pass the castle at some distance.[40]

When the practical need arose, loyalty to and co-operation as city or *polis* can also be observed in Japan. Thus in sixteenth-century Sakai (part of present-day Osaka) the most prominent merchants of the city had formed their own governing body known as *egôshû* 会合衆. When in 1569 Oda Nobunaga made demands on the city, it decided to resist, and began to strengthen its defences.[41]

The city of Sakai had considerable material wealth to defend: army provisions, ammunition and other valuable merchandise. This was, however, the exception in Japanese history. The accumulation of merchant wealth was late, and, when it did happen, was generally strictly controlled by the military. Nor did the Japanese cultivator have much wealth to defend. There was little breeding of livestock, which in Europe provided an essential part of the diet and a target for plundering armies. Again, the temperate climate of the greater part of Japan did not require storing large amounts of provisions for the cold season. In most of Europe such provisions were essential for survival during the long winter months, but also represented valuable provisions and booty for armies on the move. Consequently cultivators had to defend their stores, creating appropriately large social units to make this possible.

In short, while killing civilians in Europe freed provisions and booty for armies on the march, within the confines of the Japanese islands killing the cultivator or fisherman meant, on the contrary, that only small food supplies might be gained at the time, and none in the future. Consequently civilians in Japan were not threatened as in Europe, and could afford to maintain the topographically favoured small unit of the family, rather than direct their loyalties towards larger units like the village, town or city. Japanese feudal

lords in turn first and foremost fortified their own mansions, and not the settlement as a whole.

8. The Curse of the Gods

The absence of foreign, culturally hostile invaders not only permitted small social units, it also made it feasible to house native gods away from human habitation, and thus accord them the ritual purity they traditionally demanded. While European communities crowded around the church as religious centre, both to seek protection from the godhead and protect the sanctuary, neither reason was considered important in Japan. Oda Nobunaga razed the temple complex of Mount Hiei, but he took this action because the monks had turned themselves into a military and political force. To my knowledge nobody ever threatened or attempted to capture and destroy the Ise sanctum.

Japan's natural defences discouraged large-scale destruction at the hand of men, but its geographical characteristics made it prone to extensive damage by natural elements. Earthquakes, tidal waves and volcanic eruptions have periodically devastated large parts of the country. Annually typhoons bring destruction with gale-force winds and rains, resulting in floods and land-slides. While I am not aware of any study attempting to compare the loss to life and property caused by military operations on the one hand and natural disaster on the other, I believe one may safely assume, especially when excepting the twentieth century, that in the course of Japanese history the damage caused by the latter was considerably greater. And since natural disasters were believed to be caused by the wrath of the gods, it is not surprising that people feared their presence, and, like Emperor Sûjin, preferred not to live at close quarters with them.

A Japanese scholar has pointed out that, while in the Western *polis* the gods were built a seat within the city, in Japan, to the contrary, the *tatari kami* 祟り神 were driven out of human habitation. He refers to the ceremonies of the tenth-century *Engishiki* 延喜式, which were to be performed to drive the *tatari kami* from the capital.[42] It would be wrong, however, to translate *tatari kami* as "evil spirits," for they were merely dissatisfied gods who temporarily inflicted a curse (*tatari*) upon men.[43] Thus in Japan with its many natural calamities, the presence of the gods was frequently considered a liability and threat rather than

a blessing, and living close to them was consequently undesirable.

9. The Growth of Settlements

As Japanese settlements grew, the compounds of temples and shrines, nevertheless, often came to be surrounded by urban sprawl. But as structures of wood, they were prone to periodical destruction by fire, and the occasion of their destruction was not infrequently taken to assign these places of worship new sites on the periphery of urban settlement. Thus the important Kanda Myôjin 神田明神 shrine was moved twice before it came to be located at its present site in Yushima,[44] while McClain observed a similar wholescale move of temples from the central area of Kanazawa to a new quarter at the periphery of the town.[45]

In comparison, when St. Paul's Cathedral was reduced to rubble during the Great Fire of London of 1666, there was no question of whether this valuable piece of real estate in the middle of what is known as "the City" should be made available for other purposes. The only debate that ensued was about the design and how quickly parts of the new structure would be available for use.[46] As St. Paul's was rebuilt, successive rulers supported the project, ensuring the cathedral's completion in great splendour. While the patronage of these rulers entailed changing the religious sect permitted to worship in the church, it did not entail a change in location.[47]

The Tokugawa of premodern Japan similarly spent large sums on the construction and repair of religious buildings.[48] However, different from the practice in Europe, these sums were not exclusively donated for the religious buildings of one sect, nor were the buildings the focal point of the city. The ruler patronised various temples and shrines of different sects, and characteristically the most splendid among them, those at Nikko, were situated far away from city life.

10. Conclusion

When Engelbert Kaempfer travelled from Nagasaki to Edo in the late seventeenth century, he was struck by the different shape of settlements in Japan as compared to his native Europe. In Japan cities had no walls, and he

found it hard to judge, for instance, where the suburb of Shinagawa ended and the city of Edo proper began. Between Osaka and Kyoto he noted one nearly continuous urban sprawl. Throughout the country commercial establishments and private houses lined the highways for long stretches, and it was often impossible to know where one settlement ended and the next began.[49]

Kaempfer would note similar changes in Europe today. As indicated by the plans for the city of Freudenstadt, with the advent of autocratic government, the ruler's palace rather than the church came to occupy the centre. On the decline of the authority of both the church and autocratic government, new patterns of decentralised settlement emerged. Thus modern Western urbanisation has come to follow patterns in many ways resembling those found in Japan at a much earlier stage where, as a rule, communities did not make a religious site the centre of their settlement. The authority and popularity of the church as religious institution has declined, and new decentralised settlements offer greater convenience for modern living. Yet these traditional places of worship, with their massive stone walls rising high above the surrounding houses at the original centre of the settlement, still hold some fascination, and living in their shade is again becoming popular in Europe. Jung would point out that this is only natural, since the "Mother-city" is part of the archetypal content of the Western psyche.

5. In Europe people have traditionally lived at close quarters to the church. Here the church and surrounding houses at Todtmoos, Black Forest, Germany.

Notes

[1] Bernd Roeck, "Stadtkunstwerke," in W. Behringer and B. Roeck, eds., *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit 1400-1800*, C.H. Beck, Munich, 1999, p. 20. Sönke Lorenz, "Freudenstadt", *ibid*, p. 214.

[2] Mircea Eliade, *A History of Religious Ideas*, trans.Willard R. Trask, University of Chicago Press, 1978, I, pp. 26, 42-43.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 42, 82.

[4] Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, J.C.B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1976, p. 287.

[5] Sergiusz Michalski, "Vom himmlischen Jerusalem bis zu den Veduten des 18. Jahrhunderts—Symbolik und Darstellungsparadigmen der Stadtprofilansichten", *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit*, p. 46.

[6] Peter Johanek, "Die Mauer und die Heiligen—Stadtvorstellungen im Mittelalter," in *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit*, p. 31.

[7] Johanek, p. 26.

[8] Johanek, p. 30.

[9] Michalski, p. 47.

[10] C.G. Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1938, pp. 66, 70.

[11] Oka Chikuma 岡千曲, "Tojô no uchûronteki kôzô" 都城の宇宙論的構造, Ueda Masaaki 上田正明, ed., *Tojô* 都城, Shakai shisôsha 社会思想社, Tokyo, 1976, pp. 338-339.

[12] Oka, pp. 340-341.

[13] A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1967, pp. 80, 202.

[14] G. Coedès, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, F. Vella, ed., S. Brown Cowing , trans., East-West Center Press, Honolulu, 1968, pp. 138, 175, 213; Oka, p. 344.

[15] Oka, pp. 346-356.

[16] For a description of the Altar of Heaven, see C.P. Fitzgerald, *China: A Short Cultural History*, Barrie & Jenkins, London, 1976, pp. 37-38.

[17] Kishi Toshio, 岸俊男 "Nihon no koto to chûgoku no tojô" 日本の古都と中国の都城 in *Tojô*, pp. 111-116, Ueda Masaaki 上田正明, Mori Shikazô 森鹿三, "Chûgoku to nihon no Tojô" 中国と日本の都城, *ibid*, pp. 370-375.

[18] Fitzgerald, pp. 321, 524-526

[19] Ueda and Mori, pp. 369, 376-377. For a detailed analysis of the differences between the Chinese and Japanese capitals and between the various Japanese capitals themselves, see Kishi, pp. 102-110.

[20] W.G. Aston, trans., *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1956, p. 151; *Nihon shoki* 日本書記 I, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系 67, Iwanami, Tokyo, 1967, p. 238. Aston translates Yamato no Ôkuni Tama (Oho-kuni-dama) as "the numen of the great land of Yamato."

[21] For a discussion of some of these opinions see *Nihon shoki*, I:591.

[22] Aston, p. 152.

[23] Jean Herbert, *Shinto: the Fountainhead of Japan*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1967, p. 76

[24] Herbert, pp. 395-397.

[25] Nicolas Fiévé, "The Urban Evolution of the City of *Heiankyô*," in *Japan Forum*, vol. 4, no. 1, April, 1992, p. 94.

[26] Engelbert Kaempfer, *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed*, B.M. Bodart-Bailey, ed. and trans., Hawaii University Press, Honolulu, 1999, p. 163.

[27] James L. McClain, *Kanazawa, A Seventeenth Century Castle Town*, Yale University Press, 1982, p. 32.

[28] Kobayashi Seiji 小林清治, et. al. eds., *Sengoku dôran to daimyô ryôgoku sei* 戦国動乱と大名領国制, Yamagawa shuppan, Tokyo, 1996, pp. 111-113.

[29] These have been reproduced in Kodama Kôta, ed. *Tôkaidô bunken nobe ezu*, 24 vols., Tokyo, 1977-1985.

[30] S. Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns*, Oxford, 1977, p. 84.

[31] For an elaboration of this topic see Johanek, p. 31.

[32] Ernst Walter Zeeden, "Das Erscheinungsbild der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt, vornehmlich nach Reiseberichten und Autobiographien des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts", in *Stadt und Kultur*, edited by Hans Eugen Specker, Sigmaringen, 1983, p. 75.

[33] Heinz Duchhardt, "Die Reichsstadt in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit*, p. 31

[34] Watsuji Tetsurô, *Climate and Culture*, Geoffrey Bownas, trans., Tokyo, 1961, pp. 26, 82, 91, 141, etc.

[35] Watsuji, p. 141.

[36] Watsuji, p. 1. A recent Japanese edition is : *Fudô* 風土, Iwanami bunkô, Blue Series, no. 144-2, Iwanami Shuppan, Tokyo, 1998. The title of the English translation, cited above, is not a literal translation.

[37] Watsuji, pp. 140-141.

[38] Kaempfer, p. 296.

[39] Watsuji, p. 165.

[40] For a more detailed discussion of this topic, see B.M. Bodart-Bailey, "Urbanisation and the Nature of the Tokugawa Hegeomony" in Paul Waley and Nicolas Fiévé, eds., *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective*, Curzon Press, London, forthcoming.

[41] Tsuda Sôkyû, *Sôkyû takai ki* 津田宗及他会記, *Chadô koten zenshû* 茶道古典全集, 7, Tankôsha, Tokyo, 1971, p. 148, entry 11.1. Eiroku 12 .

[42] Ueda and Mori, p. 386.

[43] Herbert, pp. 78, 204.

[44] Tamura Akira 田村明, *Edo Tôkyô machizukuri monogatari*, Tokyo, 1992, p. 26.

[45] McClain, p. 38.

[46] James Chambers, *Christopher Wren*, Guernsey, 1998, p. 74.

[47] Chambers, pp. 83-87.

[48] For an elaboration of this topic see B.M. Bodart-Bailey, "The Economic Plight of the Fifth Tokugawa Shogun," in *Kobe University Economic Review*, no. 44, 1988, pp. 41-43.

[49] For instance Kaempfer, pp. 349, 317, 327, 329.